

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 129761

NODIS

FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT TEL AVIV 4000, SENT SECSTATE 6 JUNE:

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 4000

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, IS

SUBJET: DAYAN'S PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING WITH BEGIN

BEGIN SUMMARY: TERMS TO WHICH BEGIN AND DAYAN AGREED
IF DAYAN IS TO SERVE N A BEGIN GOVERNMENT WERE DESCRIBED
VERY CONFIDENTIALLY BY DAYAN TO SENATOR STONE JUNE 4.
THEY ARE: A) ACCEPTANCE OF 242, B) NEGOTIATIONS WITH
NO PRIOR CONDITIONS, AND C) NO MOVES TO ANNEX WEST BANK
OR EXTEND ISRAELI JURISDICTION WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ARE
IN PROGRESS. REGARDING THE WEST BANK, BEGIN AGREED TO
CONTINUE POLICY OF OPEN BRIDGES, PERMIT MAYORS' FUND
RAISING TRIPS, CONTINUE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS ON ACCESS
TO HEBRON HOLY PLACES AND ON PROHIBITION OF PRAYERS
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ON THE TEMPLE MOUNT. DETAILS OF THIS AGREEMENT BETWEEN
BEGIN AND DAYAN MUST BE VERY CLOSELY HELD. END SUMMARY

1. SENATOR STONE AND I, PLUS EPPY EVRON, POLITICAL
COUNSELOR, AND STONE'S STAFF, MET WITH DAYAN AT HIS
HOME JUNE 4. STONE BEGAN BY ASKING IF DAYAN
EXPECTED TO BE IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. IN REPLY,
DAYAN GAVE THE MOST DETAILED AND AUTHORITATIVE
DESCRIPTION WE HAVE HAD OF HIS AGREEMENT WITH BEGIN.
(HE SAID HE REALLY DIDN'T KNOW THE ANSWER

TO THE SENATOR'S QUESTION BECAUSE HE IS NOT A PARTY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.) SEPTTEL REPORTS OTHER ASPECTS OF DAYAN MEETING.

2. DAYAN EXPLAINED THAT ON THE SATURDAY AFTER THE ELECTIONS, HE RECEIVED A CALL FROM BEGIN WHO ASKED IF HE WOULD BE FOREIGN MINISTER. HE WAS TOLD HE COULD HAVE THREE DAYS TO DECIDE, AND ON THE FOURTH HE WENT TO BEGIN TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF SEVERAL ISSUES. THE RESPONSES INDICATED THAT HE AND BEGIN DID NOT SEE ENTIRELY EYE TO EYE, BUT HE FELT HIS MINIMUM TERMS WERE MET AND HE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE.

3. FIRST.....5, HE ASKED BEGIN IF HE WAS PREPARED TO GO TO GENEVA. BEGIN SAID HE WAS AND WOULD ACCEPT ALL PRIOR AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO BY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS AS BINDING. DAYAN POINTED OUT THIS INCLUDED SC RES 242 AND THE COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATE FOR PEACE. BEGIN AGREED.

4. SECOND, DAYAN ASKED IF BEGIN WOULD ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS. WOULD THE WEST BANK BE ON THE TABLE? WOULD IT BE NEGOTIABLE? BEGIN REPLIED THAT HE WOULD NOT USE THE TERM "NEGOTIABLE," BUT HE WOULD NOT REJECT IT. THE OTHER SIDE COULD BRING ANY PROPOSAL TO THE TABLE AND EVERYTHING WOULD BE OPEN
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FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

5. THIRD, DID HE INTEND TO ANNEX THE WEST BANK? BEGIN SAID HE DID NOT, BUT WAS THINKING OF EXTENDING THE JURISDICTION OF ISRAELI LAW. DAYAN POINTED OUT THAT TO THE MAN IN THE STREET THIS MEANS ANNEXATION. (HE TOLD US THAT IT WAS ON THIS POINT THAT HIS TALKS WITH BEGIN ON JOINING THE LIKUD BEFORE THE ELECTION HAD BROKEN DOWN.) BEGIN THEN AGREED NEITHER TO ANNEX NOR TO EXTEND ISRAELI LAW DURING NEGOTIATIONS. DAYAN PRESSED AND ASKED, "WHAT ABOUT NOW?" BEGIN FINALLY AGREED TO AVOID SUCH STEPS "WHILE ANY NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNDERWAY," BUT WOULD NOT AGREE TO DAYAN'S CHOICE OF WORDING, "AS LONG AS NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNDERWAY." (NOTE: DAYAN CAN SEE NO SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE, EITHER IN ENGLISH OR IN HEBREW.) HE DID AGREE THAT THE PERIOD OF HIS EXPECTED VISIT TO WASHINGTON WOULD BE PART OF THE NEGOTIATING PERIOD. DAYAN ADDED THAT BEGIN POINTED OUT THIS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DID NOT MEAN THE TERRITORIES WOULD NOT BE ANNEXED IF THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED.

6. IN ADDITION TO THESE "FOREIGN POLICY" ISSUES, DAYAN SAID HE ASKED BEGIN SEVERAL "PROCEDURAL" QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PRESENT REGIME IN THE WEST BANK. FIRST, IF NO

AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED IN GENEVA, OR PRIOR TO SUCH AGREEMENT, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS TO ENABLE ISRAEL TO GO ON LIVING WITH THE ARABS? DID BEGIN AGREE TO CONTINUE THE OPEN BRIDGES POLICY? WOULD VOTERS IN THE TERRITORIES HAVE THE RIGHT TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE AMMAN PARLIAMENT? BEGIN ANSWERED THAT ALL ARRANGEMENTS AND AGREEMENTS OF PRIOR GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE HONORED.

7. SECOND, WOULD THE MAYORS OF WEST BANK TOWNS BE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE THEIR FUND RAISING TRIPS TO ARAB STATES? BEGIN SAID YES AND THAT HE WOULD PERMIT FUNDS
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FROM ARAB STATES FOR DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES, FOR "ANYTHING EXCEPT TERRORISM."

8. THIRD, WOULD THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT CONTINUE THE ACTIONS OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT IN PROHIBITING PRAYERS ON THE TEMPLE MOUNT AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SENSITIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN HEBRON AT THE CAVE OF THE PATRIARCHS? (DAYAN SAID THIS LATTER ARRANGEMENT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT IS BASED ON THE SINGLE DOCUMENT EVER SIGNED BY A WEST BANK LEADER; IT WAS SIGNED BY DAYAN AND FORMER HEBRON MAYOR JA'ABARI. IT IS ALSO AN IMPORTANT ARRANGEMENT BECAUSE THE CAVE WAS A MOSQUE BUT NEVER A SYNAGOGUE BEFORE 1967.) BEGIN AGREED. (THIS WOULD ALLAY RABIN'S CONCERNS EXPRESSED TO SENATOR STONE JUNE 3. SEE SEPTEL.)

9. FOURTH, DAYAN SAID ISRAEL SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO JUDAIZE HEBRON OR TO REBUILD THE OLD JEWISH QUARTER THERE, BUT SHOULD INSTEAD EXPAND THE JEWISH CITY OUTSIDE HEBRON. BEGIN DID NOT COMMIT HIMSELF, BUT DAYAN HAD THE IMPRESSION HE WOULD NOT TRY TO CHANGE PREVIOUS DECISIONS.

10. DAYAN SAID HE IS Awaiting TO HEAR FROM BEGIN AS TO THE FINAL OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE FEELS HIS TERMS HAVE BEEN SATISFACTORILY MET AND IF THE FUTURE COALITION CAN AGREE ON HIM AS FOREIGN MINISTER, HE IS PREPARED TO SERVE. IF NOT, HE WILL ACCEPT THE DECISION. HE SAID HE WOULD NEVER HAVE VOLUNTEERED, BUT WHEN APPROACHED HE FELT HE COULD NOT REFUSE, FOR TWO REASONS: A) ISRAEL IS NOW FACING THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES SINCE IT BECAME A STATE--THE FUTURE OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, THE WEST BANK, SHARM-EL-SHEIKH--AND THE DECISIONS ON THESE ISSUES WILL DETERMINE HOW IT CAN LIVE WITH THE ARABS IN THE TERRITORIES AND EVEN WITH THE ARABS WITHIN ISRAEL; B) HE BELIEVES HE IS THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN NAVIGATE ISRAEL THROUGH
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THE PERILOUS WATERS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT OR, IF AGREEMENT IS IMPOSSIBLE, OF WORKING OUT A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE ARABS. HE FEELS THAT IF HE HAS BEEN SOUGHT OUT AND KNOWS A WAY TO HELP, HE CANNOT REFUSE.

11. COMMENT: ON THE SEVERAL OCCASIONS WHEN EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE SEEN HIM OVER THE PAST YEAR, DAYAN HAS APPEARED LISTLESS, DISORGANIZED AND ALMOST LOST. ON THIS OCCASION, HE WAS SARP, ASSERTIVE, PRAGMATIC, AND WELL ORGANIZED. (EVRON ALSO COMMENTED AFTERWARDS THAT THIS WAS THE DAYAN OF OLD.) HE OBVIOUSLY BELIEVES HE CAN MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO ISRAEL'S FUTURE AND IS ANXIOUS TO DO SO.

12. WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE TERMS OF THIS AGREEMENT WORKED OUT BETWEEN DAYAN AND BEGIN WILL LIE BEHIND THE INEVITABLY MORE GENERAL TERMS OF A COALITION AGREEMENT REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS AND RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS, IF THE PARTNERS TO THE COALITION AGREE TO ACCEPT DAYAN AS FOREIGN MINISTER. (AND I BELIEVE THEY WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE NO REAL CHOICE BUT TO DO SO.)

13. EVRON AND I AGREED THAT THIS PORTION OF DAYAN MEETING WAS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE. A PREMATURE LEAK COULD PUT THE CAT AMID MANY PIGEONS, AND EVEN MORE SO IF IT CAME FROM U.S. SOURCES. I ASSURED HIM NOTHING WOULD LEAK FROM US--AND SENATOR STONE COMPLETELY AGREES THAT SECRECY ON THIS IS ESSENTIAL. THIS TELEGRAM WILL BE THE ONLY REFERENCE TO THE BEGIN-DAYAN AGREEMENT. LEWIS UNQUOTE. VANCE

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